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Upper left corner: Yurutí woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yurutí women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Pulop.)

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[415]
→

Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

3: Fulop--52 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Upper part: Yuruti woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192

b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[531] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

• [285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3)) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3)), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/143/

153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

177 829 [342] [291]

153 /144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/Illustrations facing p. 160 in the original source./

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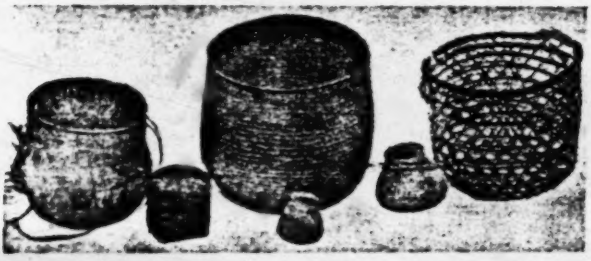
1. Sieves (baxti) with the characteristic designs.
2. Different types of large baskets (aturás, pyi, and sarreiro, térẽ-pi, the one with wide meshes) and small ones (pyi-kamõ).
3. Preparing the "rede-batida" /beaten hammock/.
4. Rough-hewing to prepare the oar.



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4: Silva--234 M-4, 5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 161 in the original source./

Fan (wẽrĩ-rõ), urupema (sũõ), cumatá (tõ-pa) Stone axes (õxtã-komé)

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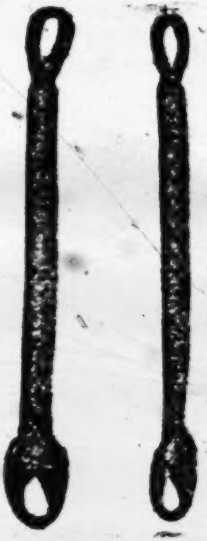

Tipiti (wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ) Sieves (baxti)

/194 cont./

286
531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

• 285 For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxíuba (waxtá), patauá (yumũ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'aĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantáceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

[386] [531]

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

/195 cont./

285 415 [192] If it is a matter of a sieve or basket, they finish with three or four turns with the cipo, by way of a hoop (be'tó), on which they tie the ends of the plaiting and later trim the tips of the straws or the strips.

285 531 The basketry of these tribes is one of the richest known. Using a more or less flexible material, they combine the plaited and the twined in several technical processes, with wide or closed spaces, and warps and woofs in various directions, in such a way that an amazing variety of patterns results. As a further demonstration of their ability, they interpose colored strips, from which appear the fanciful Greek frets /Port. gregas/ that characterize their designs. And, with such richness of imagination and technique, they make objects of varied size and shape, according to their purposes.

285 415 Baskets and sieves are made by all the tribes, but the specialists are the Desana.

184 [192] 1) Tipití. The tipití, in Tukano wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ, is the press of the Indian. It consists of a cylinder or tube, which the men weave most commonly with arumã straw, with a very tight mesh. It measures 1.50 and even 2 meters in length, and barely 10 centimeters in diameter. The upper end, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ dõxpo-á (head of the tipití), is open and terminates in a handle, by which the tipití is hung on one of the supports of the house. The other end is closed and also terminates in a handle, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ bé'tó (ring of the tipití). With the proper movement of the hands, the tipití is reduced to a shorter length, which has the effect of increasing the diameter, and through the mouth thus enlarged is introduced the mass of the grated mandioca (cf. VI - 4, a).

2) Sieves. They are used to strain the mass of mandioca, to sift the flour, etc., and are woven out of arumã straw.

The width of the meshes, dimensions, and shape will vary according to the use for which the sieve is intended. One finds some shallow, like our common sieves, and others deeper.

/196/

*192 • 285 415 One can distinguish three types of sieves: 1st, tõ-pa (in Nheengatú cumatá), is large, of very tight mesh, used to strain out the manicuera /the liquid from the mass of manioc/ and to extract the starch; 2nd, sĩõ, or better sõõ-a (Nh. urupema), with a more open mesh and sometimes square in shape, in a frame of four rounded sticks, used to sift the mass of the water flour /see p. 310 /; 3rd, Baxtĩ, deeper, as small baskets for storing the beijú and other foods and objects. It is these that customarily bear the beautiful traditional designs.

3) Baskets.

*192 285 415 a) Pi'ĩ are large baskets which on the Amazon are customarily called aturás. They are used to transport mandioca, fruits, earth, firewood, luggage; they are woven exclusively by the Makú, who also work for the other tribes.

The traditional shape is the cylindrical one, with the base slightly wider than the mouth. The material is the uambé cipo, misĩ-da, quite strong, chosen without knots, and which is placed on the fire, in order to slip off the bark easily. The cipo is broken into two or three parts, and the plaiting is started from the bottom. The mouth is of rings of cipo, like a hoop, and is tied to the basket with woven caroatá fibers.

*192 462 482 The woman, upon whom the carrying of the pi'ĩ falls (the man must always walk unencumbered, in order to be able to defend himself and his family), carries it in the following manner: the aturá goes on her back, but is suspended from the forehead by means of a wide embira, pi'ĩ-karõ-pá (29),

> 29. Or pi'ĩ-kãrõ-kaxserĩ. It seems that the tree derived its name from the pi'ĩ, because its embira is commonly used to transport the pi'ĩ. Other embiras, however, are also used, such as sõ'ú-kaxsero, deóti-kõ.

the ends of which, passing through the mouth of the basket, run along it and are interwoven on the bottom of it. They thus transport a load of 30 to 50 kilograms for a distance of kilometers.

/196 cont./

*192 • 285 415 [756] b) A small basket of the shape and material of the pi'ĩ, and in which the women keep their ornaments and painting powder, is called pi'ĩ-kamõ.

c) Also customarily of cipo is a small hamper, called wamõ axka-ro, in which the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ keeps his objects for treating sick people (cf. VII - 2, e).

d) In order to store or to transport the flour that they sell, they make the panniers, térẽ-pi (Uaupés ténẽ-pi), out of strips of arumã or taquara, and with quite wide meshes (two to three centimeters), and thus the manufacture is faster. They line them with great skill, with leaves of myõ-gõ pũrĩ, or likewise of arumã or other plants, in such /197/ a way that they do not allow the flour to go through, even with the little care that it usually has during the loading, unloading, and transport.

4) Fan. With miritĩ or tucum fronds, or arumã straws, they plait an object similar to a fan, and which can perfectly replace it; it is called wẽ'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés wẽ'nĩ-nõ). They manufacture it in various sizes and use it to fan the fire, as well as like a scoop to turn the beijú in the oven. It is heart-shaped, and the bound straws themselves constitute the leg or support, by which the fan is held.

Some quite large ones are seen, of the natural size of the biggest miritĩ fronds, from which they are made, and they are used as mats for the divisions of the compartments of the malocas, or even to serve as a wall.

5) Quiver. They also prepare with arumã strips a quiver, bu'sá-sa, of cylindrical shape and about 40 centimeters in height, with a diameter of 8 or 10 centimeters, widening toward the mouth. It is used to store the small poisoned arrows [278] of the sarabatana /blowgun/, or curabĩs. To keep water from dissolving the poison, they customarily make this quiver impermeable with pitch.

/197 cont./

*192 354 6) Support for the cooking pot. With paxiúba splints about 40 or 50 centimeters in length, they prepare a support for the cooking pots, called sɨ̃'rɨ̃-rõ̃ (Uaupés sɨ̃'nɨ̃-nõ̃).

It is essentially a bunch of splints, tied with cipo or embira in the central part, and the ends of which widen so as to form a spiral, in such a way that the sɨ̃'rɨ̃-rõ̃ is similar to a double spiral-shaped cone, with a binding around the vertex. The ends are fixed by means of cipo or embira about two or three centimeters apart.

*192 415 7) Box for ornaments. It is a rectangular box, generally of miritĩ stalk reduced to laminae, which is used for storing the plumes and other dance ornaments. Since one box is smaller than another, the former is introduced inside the latter, as if it were its lid, in such a way that it remains tightly closed and in the shape of a trunk. In Tukano it is called mahã̄-poarĩ-karo, and in Nheengatú, pacará.

*192 • 285 8) Other plaited work.

a) Moreover, they weave the fronds from several palms to serve as roofing, peókaro, and even more frequently as walls, tyãkaro.

/198/ b) They make mats for various purposes, called imɨ̃-sa (Nh. tupé), with leaves of different palm trees or with finer cipos.

c) With a rapid plaiting of the leaflets of some palm frond they improvise baskets, ba:, in order to transport fruits from the forest.

d) From the pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./ and other leaves they make up small bindings, called sɨ̃: or sá:, in the shape of an ear of maize, which they fill with pirá-mirims /a kind of fish/, in order to roast them.

/198 cont./

*192 • 285 e) Through contact with the civilized, these plaited products are starting to have new applications. We recall here that on the Amazon they are called panacarica (in Tukano yuxkõ-sõ-mõarõ) and decorrera (moãri kaxsero or simply moãrõ, Uaupés moãnõ). The former is a straight cover for the canoes and small launches and is attached to fixed supports. The latter, on the other hand, of curved shape, is a movable cover and, because of this, small and light, and rests directly on the edges of the canoes. Ordinarily it is the custom to make the decorrera out of palm leaves with quite a tight mesh; whereas the panacarica consists of two superimposed mats, plaited out of cipo and with wide mesh, and between them a layer of palm or arumã leaves.

285 291 f) They also customarily plait out of cipo a hat with a wide brim, up to a meter in diameter, and, as in the panacarica, they combine two hats, and between them, in the manner of buckram, a layer of arumã leaves. Such hats are especially used for protection from the sun in the clearings and on canoe trips, and also from the rain, although they become uncomfortable because of the weight of the water.

*[192] Other plaited products worth mentioning are those that are used in fishing, such as nassas, cacurís, etc., which are mentioned later (cf. VI - 5, a (2)).

e) Weapons.

1) Weapons used as festival ornaments.

*192 178 411 a) Tangapema. The sacrificial club, or tanga-pema (in Nheengatú cuidarú or also acanga-pema, that is, head-flattener), in Tukano uxpí-o-phĩ, was formerly a war weapon of the chiefs. Afterwards, as was already observed by Gonçalves Dias ("Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas," Vol. II, p. 671), it became only a symbol of authority at the festivals and disappeared almost completely. The natives of the present generation only know its name, uxpí-o-phĩ. One of them remembered having seen it with special paintings, "in order to inspire valor and bring luck to the warrior." Others supplied the information that they had heard from the old people, to wit, that before leaving /199/ for

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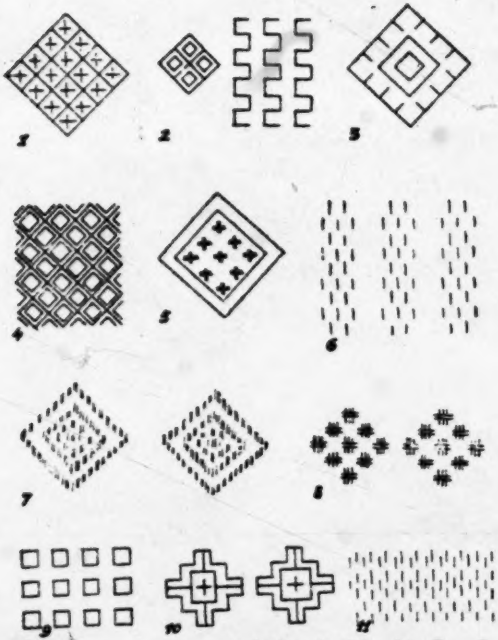

1. Yóãsõ paxkó sẽ'ẽma -- alligator's back (black); 2. Soxkõ-rõ ó:ri -- flower (design) of the grater (black and white); 3. Sẽ'rá -- pineapple (green and yellow); 4. Ahũ-dõxkarí -- pieces of beijú (black and white); 5. Buwahá-ro -- cuia of cutia /agouti/ (green); 6. Neé ó:ri -- flower of the miriti (yellow); 7. Sirí-pía ó:rí -- flower (design) of the swallow (green and purple); 8. Uhuri sẽ'ẽma -- back of the land turtle (black and white); 9. Ó:ri mãrĩ -- design without flowers (black and white); 10. Sakú dõ'pó-ka -- leg of saracura /Rallidae/ (white and black); 11. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of calango /small lizard/ (green).

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3) Designs on objects.

The Baniva customarily execute designs on the camutins or pots, and the other tribes, on the cuias used, especially on the maracá. These are vegetable colors with a predominance of white, and the designs are always Greek frets. We have already mentioned the designs on the small stools that the Tukano make.

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There are eight more common principal ornamental motifs that appear on the woven and plaited work of the hammocks and strainers:

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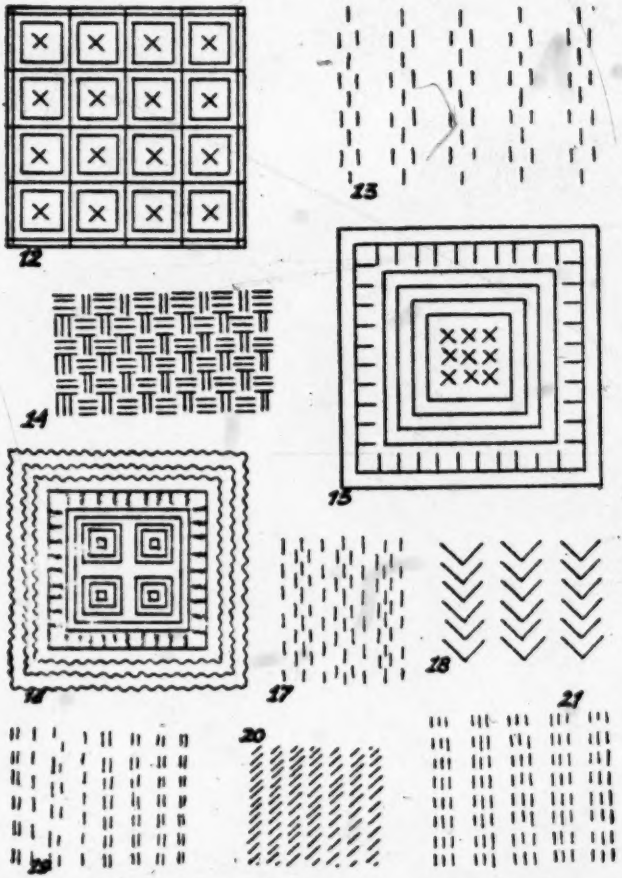
1. Soxkõrõ-ó:ri (flowers of the grater), that is, similar to the arrangement of the small stones in the graters.



12. Yuxkõ-dõxkã́ -- fruit; 13. Mixpĩ́ ó:ri -- flower of the açaí /assai/ (red and white); 14. Poxtã́-da -- thorny branch; 15. Piã́ ó:ri -- flower (design) of the piã́ (bird); 16. Piã́ ó:ri -- flower (design) of the piã́ (bird); 17. Soxkõ-sero -- surucucu (ophidian) (yellow); 18. Ã'rẽ-pũrĩ́ -- leaf of the pupunha tree (green); 19. Sẽ'ã́ ma'á -- path of the piramirim (fish) (red and white); 20. Nixtiã́ ó:ri -- flower (design of the spotted snake); 21. Dõxpõri-tẽrõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of the lambari /a fish/ (white).

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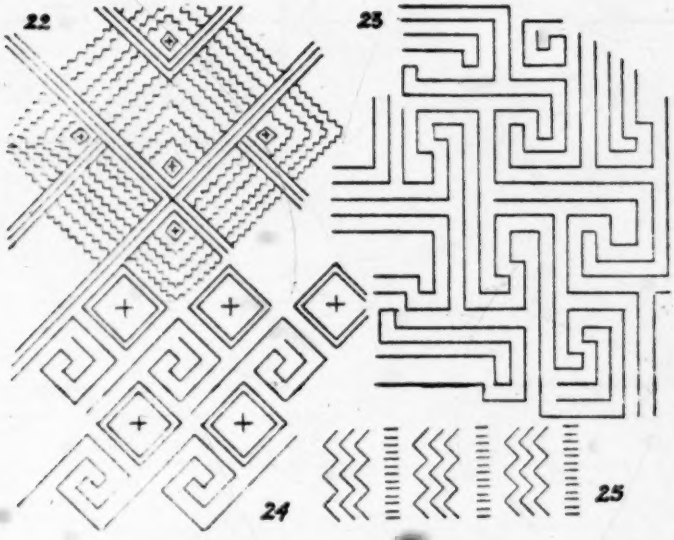
2. Mixpĩ pũrĩ (açai /assai/ leaves), designs like the leaves of the açai palm.
3. Byá-põrá ma'á (path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/)
4. Neé óori (flower of the miriti)
5. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma (back of calango /small lizard/)
6. Pamõ sẽ'ẽma (back of tatu /armadillo/)
7. Dõxpõrí-tẽrõ sẽ'ẽma (back of lambari /a fish/)
8. Wãx-tĩ õx'sé-pekuri (knees of Wãx-tĩ), similar to the gammadioncross or swastika.

The Uaupés Indians take pleasure in combining these motifs and obtain numerous designs. By chance, in 24 strainers acquired by us in 1947 in different places on the Uaupés, there were 23 different combinations.



22. Oxsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of the two-headed snake; 23. Wãx-tĩ õxsé-pekuri -- knee of Wãx-tĩ; 24. Wãx-tĩ-ke-õ -- tipiti; 25. Bya-põrá -- path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/ (yellow).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small maloças hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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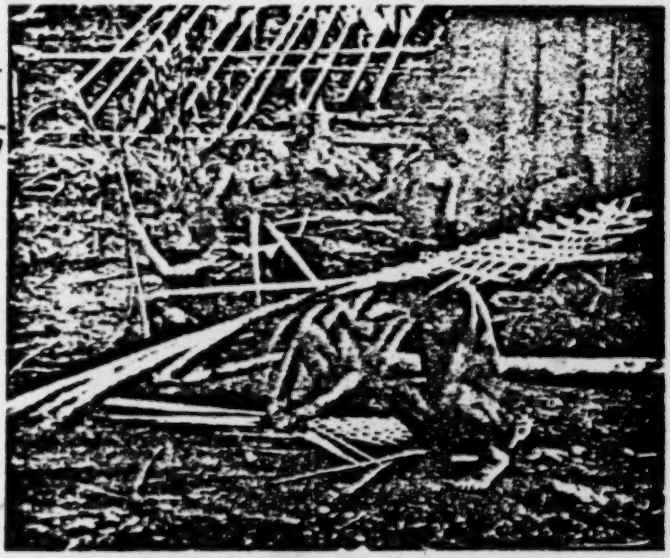

Fig. 1. Children helping in housebuilding.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning" is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

/p. 62-B/

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ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face.

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out.

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to replace her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own

ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: *Then it is warped open over a fire.*

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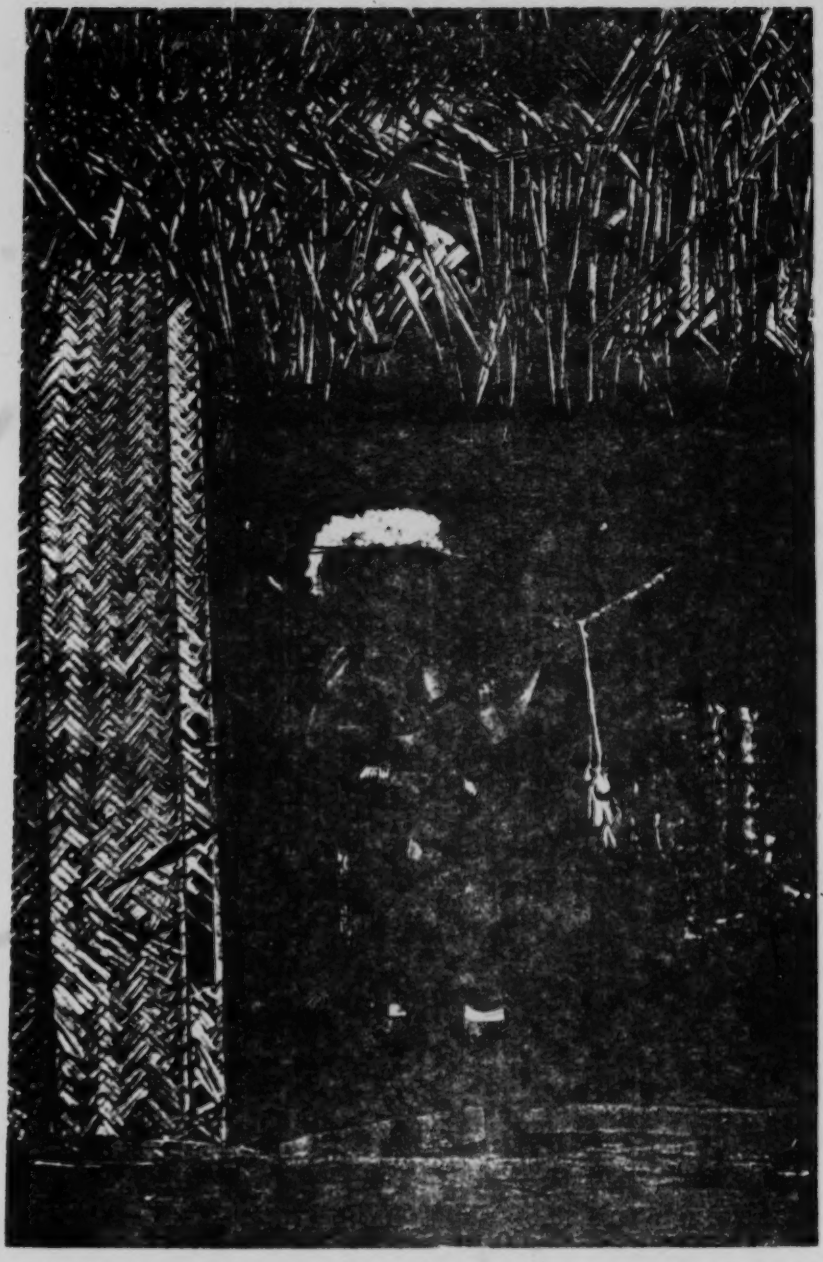

A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti pebble stave.

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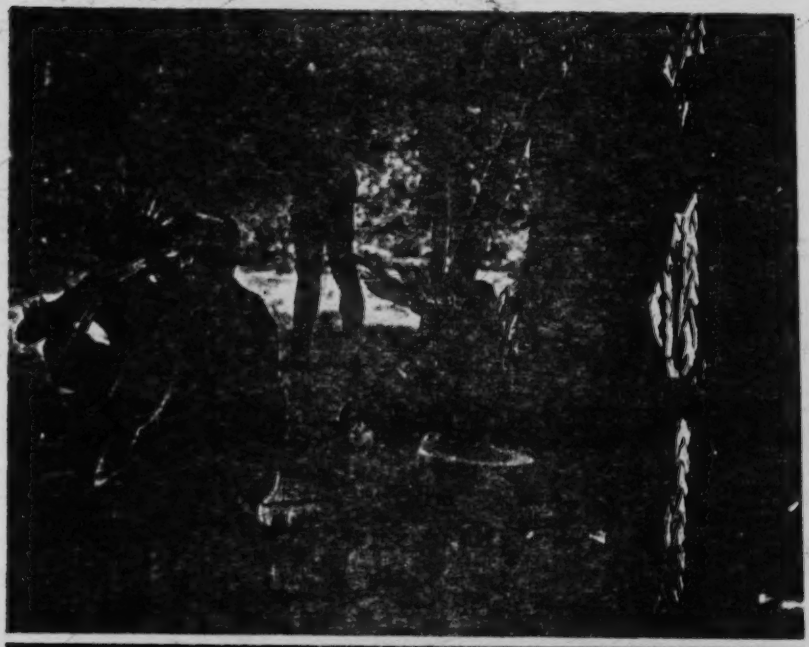

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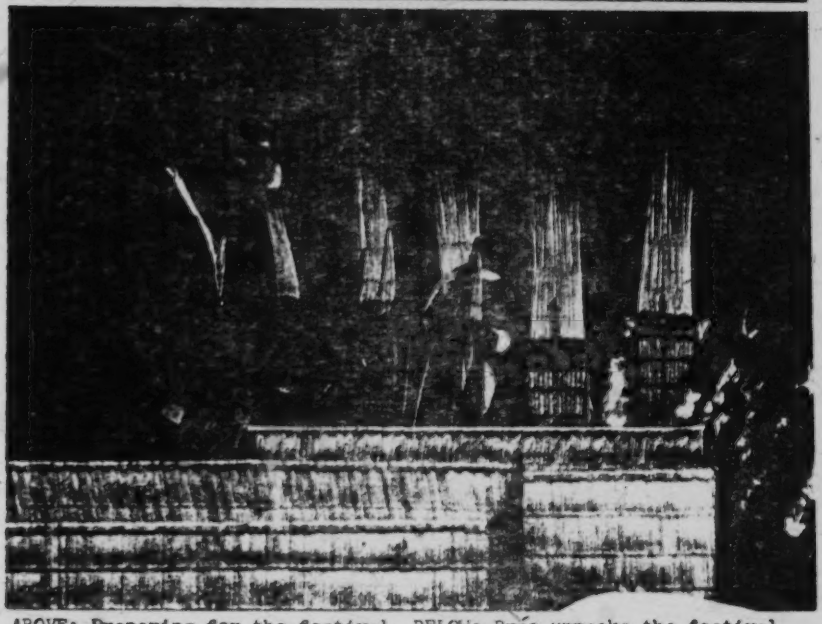

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Breo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.